1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

595 [622]

The number of plural wives depends on wealth; hence chiefs have more than others. From my notes I glean two instances of two wives, another of three. The wives in both bigamous cases were sisters. The greatest number known was the case of the chief Lɛle'ks, who had at one time seven wives, two of them sisters.[73] I have described their derivations above. These women bore him many children. Whether the wives are sisters is a matter of complete indifference. To have two wives is called la'bwewa'nsgĭtkt (lit., two females), three Enda'nwewa'nsgĭtkt, and so on. Collectively the wives may be referred to as sĭpkska'ltk; they call each other p'tcĭki'p. Plural wives are paid for, but whether there is reciprocal visiting I do not know. Slaves are also taken to wife. Polyandry is unthinkable to the Klamath; it would be adulterous.

595 842

Barrenness is as usual a reason for taking a second wife, but not always. Pat's maternal uncle had a barren wife. He kept her throughout his life and never took another. The case of three wives noted above was one in which there were no children; the children of this family always died in infancy, I was told. Whether this implied that two of the three were barren, I do not know. One word, ta'e'do, means a sterile man or woman.

587

The sororate is not obligatory on the death of a wife, nor is there any notion that a girl must marry an older sister's husband when she comes of age.[74] It is thought better to marry a deceased wife's sister, and from her family's point of view it is evidence that they care for the husband when they provide another daughter. There is however no feeling that they are under compulsion to make good the loss he sustained because of his marriage payments. A bereaved person waits a year or more before remarrying. The second wife has to be paid for like the first, but the amount is less. Again this depends on the man's affluence. The sororate is called splno'la, the sister, spl'nuwlp, i.e., sibling-in-law when the spouse is dead (cf. splnu', to cremate, spl'nuks, cremation place).

[601]

The levirate is customary but not obligatory. It is desirable to keep a woman in the family, especially one with children. This is perhaps nothing more than an expression of household solidarity, for

[73] Gatschet states ten, but I am certain there were not more than seven, at least at one time (2:126).

[74] There is just a suggestion. When asked for the kinship term used by a woman for her sister's husband, my informant gave the term for husband, but somewhat in confusion corrected herself with the woman's term for brother-in-law.

[601]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

587 a woman with young children is as likely as not to be a member of a joint house group with her husband's immediate kin. We may also wonder if she would not ordinarily continue to reside with them even though she does not remarry in the group. It might be illuminating to know how residence with or apart from this family affects the practice. In default of a husband's brother, the widow should marry a nephew, either fraternal or sororal, or another of his kinsmen. A payment is made but not so large an amount as at her first marriage. Since only close relatives are paid, a widow may not be paid for if she has none. Much depends on the woman's willingness; she may not care to be a plural wife. Nevertheless, it is in some degree compulsory, for if she should marry another, her deceased husband's brothers may kill the man. While their objection is voiced loudly enough, they do not announce their purpose but await a favorable opportunity to surprise him.

586 Quarrels and adultery lead to separation, which is frequent; there seems no compulsion to endure an unbearable situation. Incompatibility and jealousy (sukï'kusle'a) bring on quarrels as frequently as they do in any other group of human beings. Typical causes
837 of domestic friction cited to me are adultery, as with a slave woman of the household, a woman's continual anger with her husband, or her demand for sole attention in a polygynous household. It is always the wife who leaves. My informants could imagine no situation short of adultery which would lead a man to send his wife away. Nevertheless he can force her to act. A good, stout-hearted woman stays, so they said, no matter how badly she is treated; only a mean-spirited one flies home. Inevitably the situation is complicated by children. A wife may take all her children with her or only the little ones. This seems a question of who is at fault, for a woman taken in adultery may choose to submit to beatings by her husband rather than be separated from her children. If a wife leaves of her own volition and for just cause, her husband must pay again to have her return, must assuage the feelings of her family by gifts. If he does not desire her, he may ask for the return of the marriage gifts but they are not automatically forthcoming. If the wife is at fault he may choose to demand the return of the bride price. Its return
586 is called sëldõnga. If a man is impotent his wife may leave him for
842 another. But he cannot cast his wife aside because she is barren; he adds another to the household.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

845 [171]*

fested by several tribes of northern California and in view of their association with the weather and salmon on the Northwest coast. Neither of these attitudes appears among the Klamath. Nor is there any sympathetic bond between twins, nor is one of them destroyed at birth. Informants had never heard of triplets although they must occur in the usual biological proportions. Monsters are said always to be born dead—perhaps the midwives see to that. Like the stillborn, they are said to receive the universal cremation, but it is more likely that they are secretly disposed of, like abortions. [766]

847

The child of an adulterous union, if not palmed off on the husband, is aborted by pressing the abdomen heavily on a rock. Naturally this takes place in the seclusion of the brush. No medicines are in use for abortion. To abort is called hlso'ḳoga; infanticide, siu'ga.

842 •

How much of a disgrace barrenness is I do not know, but it does not lead to separation. To aid conception women grind a white shell[80] (lō'ktăs) and drink it in water. Men do the same for impotence. A small dentalium shell (t'u'tas) is also used.

854

Klamath cradles show an interesting cultural amalgamation. The cradle for the newborn is the northern California sitting type; the carrying board for later use is identical with the oval wooden forms of the northern Basin.[81] Through western Oregon and Washington, along the line of contact of the Basin board with the wooden trough cradle of the Northwest Coast, both forms are used or else a modification of one toward the form of the other.

[593]

The basketry cradle (ḳwăls) for the first month or two of the baby's life is a trough with one rounded end on which the child sits. It is made by the mother of the expectant woman; woven of willow twigs, it measures eighteen inches in length. Its purpose is said to be to prevent the infant scratching its navel, with consequent illness, and to support its weak back. Its usefulness ended, it is thrown away.

[562]

The carrying-board (swĕns) is made by the baby's father or a near kinsman. It is a flat board of oval outline, carved from a single piece of wood. The lower end is rather pointed so that it can be stuck into the ground while the mother is occupied. An unexpected feature is that the sex of the infant is distinguishable from the shape of the

[80] This is flat, two inches long, and spotted. It may have been got from the whites.

[81] Barrett has it that the first cradle is of soft tules, followed by the sitting type of more rigid materials, with occasional use of the board (Material Culture, 257, pl. 14).

	Xl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3361. Spirit of tattooed goes to good place	-	◦	-					+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	304
3362. Cranial deformation	+	◦	+	◦	-	◦	+	-	◦	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3363. Male	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[562]
3364. Female	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3365. Pads bound to head	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3366. Back	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3367. Front	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3368. Mother attends to baby's head	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Disposal of Milk Teeth																	
3369. Thrown away, no particular place	+	-	-			+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	836
3370. Thrown away, toward sun	-	-	-		+	-	-	-	◦	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	826
3371. Thrown in river	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3372. Buried in gopher hole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	◦	-	◦	◦	+	◦	◦	◦	+	
3373. Buried in excrement	-	-	-	-	◦	◦	-	-	◦	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3374. Hidden in grass clump	-	-	+	◦	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3375. Buried, no special place	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3376. Exchanged with gopher	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3377. Formula spoken	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	◦	+	◦	◦	
Twins																	
3378. Twins feared	-	-	-	-	-	(-)	+	-	◦	+	+	+	◦	+	+	.	845
3379. Considered unlucky	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	.	+	+		[777]
3380. Attempts made to prevent conception of twins	-	-	-						◦	-	+	◦	.	◦	◦	.	
3381. People "ashamed" for woman	-	-	-				+	-	-	-	-	-	.	+	-	.	
3382. No significance	+	+	+	+	-	(+)	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	
3383. Relative adopts 1	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	+	+	.	[547]
Adoption of Children																	
3384. Parents impoverished: relatives, only, adopt child	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	.	-	+	+	+	547
3385. Orphan: adopted by paternal, maternal kin	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
3386. Paternal relatives only	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
o3387. Childless couples given child by relatives	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	+	.	+	
3388. Anyone may adopt orphan	-	-	-					+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Infanticide, Illegitimate Children																	
3389. Illegitimate children killed, occasionally	+	+	+	-	+	◦	+	◦	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	847
3390. Legitimate children killed occasionally	-	-	◦					◦	◦		-	-	-	◦	◦	-	848
3391. To avert disaster	-	-	+					+	+		-	.	-	-	-	-	
3392. If mother dies in childbirth	-	-	+					+	◦		-	.	-	+	+	-	
3393. Infant buried alive with mother	-	-	+					◦	-		-	.	-	+	+	-	
3394. Infant put in badger hole	+	+	-	-	.	-	+	-	-		-	.	-	-	-	-	
3395. Infant smothered	-	-	◦					◦	◦		-	-	-	-	-	-	
3396. Mother keeps illegitimate child	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	.	+	+	+	
3397. Mother's mother takes illegitimate child	-	-	-	+	-	◦	-	-	-	-	.	+	.	+	+	-	
3398. Father of illegitimate child provides for baby	-	-	+	+	.	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Impregnatives, Contraceptives, Abortion																	
3399. Measures taken to induce pregnancy	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	842
3400. Shell, vegetable decoction drunk	+	◦	◦	-	-	-	+	-	◦	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	
3401. Doctor makes miniature baby cradle													-	-	◦	.	

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
842 3402. Measures taken to insure sex wanted, of child	+	◦	–			◦	+	–	◦	–	.	.	–	–	+	.
3403. 2 varieties shell used in decoction employed	+	+	–			+	+	–	–	–	.	.	–	–	–	.
3404. Different parts of plant used in decoction	–	–	–			–	–	–	◦	–	.	.	.	.	.	.
3405. Bow and arrow or basket hung up	–	–	–						◦	–	.	.	–	–	+	.
3406. Measures taken to prevent pregnancy	.	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	+	–	–	–
3407. Decoction drunk	.	.	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	.	–	◦	–	–	R
847 3408. Abortion	.	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	.	.	–	+	–	R
3409. Pregnant woman lies on warm trench	.	◦	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	.	–	–	–	–
3410. Pregnant woman lies over log	.	–	+								.	.	–	–	–	–
3411. Exercise	.	–	+	–	–	–	.	+	+	–	.	.	–	–	–	–
3412. Blows or pressure	.	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	.	–	–	–	–
3413. Old woman helps	.	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	.	–	–	–	–
3414. Pregnant woman helps self, alone	.	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	.	.	–	+	–	–
Puberty and Menstrual Customs																
Girls' Puberty Ceremony																
841																
88 3415. Held for each girl separately	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3416. Private seclusion of menstruant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3417. In menstrual hut	–	–	+	+	◦	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	(+)	+
3418. In cook house	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3419. In dwelling, winter only	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	.	–	–	+	+
3420. In open	+	+	◦	◦	◦	◦	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3421. Daytime	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
3422. Night time	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
3423. Hut behind, near dwelling	–	–	◦		+	–	–	–	◦	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
[516] 3424. Girl not allowed in dwelling house	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
3425. Girl sits, lies on pine needles, mat bed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3426. Girl sits, lies on heated trench	–	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	◦	◦	–
3427. Girl sits, lies on warmed ground	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
3428. Bark pillow	–	–	–		◦	–	◦	–	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3429. Stick, pine needle pillow	–	–	–			◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	◦	◦	–
3430. Girl lies on back	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3431. Girl lies on side	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
3432. Girl lies in any position	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	(+)	–
3433. Faces east when lying down	.	+	+	+	◦	–	–	+	+	◦	–	(+)	–	+	(+)	–
‡3434. Seclusion lasts ... months, rich girl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	12	1	–	–	–	–	–	1
o3435. Seclusion lasts ... months, poor girl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	12	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
‡3436. Seclusion lasts ... days, all girls	5	5	8	10	3	6	3	–	–	–	6	5	6	5	4	–
o3437. Seclusion lasts ... nights, all girls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	–	–	–	0	0	6	0	4	–
‡3438. Seclusion ... days subsequent periods	5	5	2	1	2	2	2	1	11	1	–	1	–	5	–	1
3439. Attendants during seclusion	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3440. Father's mother or mother's mother attends girl	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
3441. Father's father or mother's father attends girl	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	–	–	–
3442. Mother's mother attends girl	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
3443. Mother attends girl	–	–	+		+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–
3444. Female nonrelative attends girl	–	–	–				◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
[465] 3445. 2 or more attendants	–	–	–	–			–					+	+	+	–	◦
3446. All attendants paid	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
3447. Girl digs, pounds epos for attendant	–	–	+				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3448. Attendant paid in beads	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
3449. Girl's clothes given attendant(s)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3450. Girl's basket given female attendant	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+

4: Pearsall E-5 (1947) 1950 NR 10 Klamath NR 10
(ca. 1875)

[p. 339-A]

KLAMATH CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION[1]

by

MARION PEARSALL

INTRODUCTION

The communication of knowledge from one generation to another is a subtle process in any culture, and especially so among primitive groups with no clearly defined and well formulated educational system. Any study of primitive education is, therefore, difficult to demarcate. In its broadest sense, education might be defined as the formation of manners and habits by means of instruction, by both physical and moral discipline. The acquisition of all attitudes, knowledge, and skills can be included in education. A thorough investigation would have to answer the question of where, when, and how the individual acquires each item of his adult personality.

Obviously, no complete picture of education in any primitive group can be drawn after a single season in the field. The present study makes no pretense of being definitive. It is our intent to show the gradual development of the Klamath child from infancy to adulthood as he receives physical, religious, and moral training, as well as instruction in the food gathering techniques and skilled crafts of his culture. Undoubtedly many phases of the culture have been slighted, but we have tried to show in a general way the type of instruction and encouragement given the maturing child. Klamath ethnography has been well known for years through the works of Gatschet (1890), Coville (1898, 1904), Dorsey (1901), Barrett (1910), Spier (1930), Voegelin (1942), and others. For that reason, the details of language, material

[text continues on top of p. 339-B]

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Parenthood with its attendant responsibilities is not taken lightly by the average Klamath. One gets married for the express purpose of raising a large family, and the couple with several strong sons and hardworking daughters is highly respected in the community. A childless couple, on the other hand, is looked upon with contempt and pity. Barrenness is sometimes con-

[text continues on bottom of p. 339B]

[1] The present study is based on data collected for the University of California during a two-month stay on the Klamath Indian reservation in southern Oregon in the summer of 1947. Much of the material presented in this paper was gathered by Mrs. Betty T. Dasey, and the research represents our joint efforts.

[p. 339-B]

KLAMATH CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION [1]

by

MARION PEARSALL

INTRODUCTION

culture, social and political organization are not described here except in their effect on education. Wherever particular items are mentioned, we specifically asked our informants for a description, even though they had been described in previous ethnographies. Such accounts may thus be taken as corroborating earlier evidence unless otherwise specified in the text.

The Klamath reside in their old territory in southern Oregon, but the aboriginal way of life has long since disappeared. Today they are farmers and ranchers, but a considerable part of the earlier culture remains alive in the memories of a few oldsters. Our seven informants (4 men and 3 women) were all in their late seventies or eighties and had participated in the last phases of the aboriginal culture as children. It is regrettable that it was necessary to reconstruct childhood training from the reminiscences of elderly individuals. Doubtless much of the material represents the ideal rather than the actual pattern of education. The ideals do, however, give a definite insight into what was considered important in the upbringing of children, whether these standards were always maintained or not. Since there is little or nothing in the early literature on this subject, there is no way of comparing impressions received from old people who are admittedly looking back to "the good old days" with impressions of objective eyewitnesses to the old ways as they were really practiced.

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Barrenness is sometimes considered cause for divorce. Since the blame seems to fall most commonly on the woman, her husband's parents may suggest that he send her away and get a wife who can provide him with children. Ordinarily, though, the parents-in-law are more lenient with a barren woman.

Most Klamath express a preference for boys. A variety of reasons are offered, the most common being that boys are less bother than girls. "Girls are always getting into trouble, and you just raise them for someone else because they go off to their husbands when they get married." Once the child is born, however, there seems to be no special favoritism shown to boys. One

[p. 340A]

842 hopes to have many sons, but the inevitable is accepted philosophically.

843 The sex of the child is not entirely left to chance, for certain traditional precautions are taken. A man does not cut wood while his wife is pregnant lest she have a girl. He may also hang a tiny bow and arrow in his house to assure the birth of a boy. If a girl is born, the opposite sex may be assured for the next child by turning over the afterbirth.

844 The arrival of the first child is of special significance. It is said that at this time [821] there will be strong winds and thunder.[2] This [787] is also a propitious time for a man to seek supernatural power in the mountains. In spite [593] of the great importance attached to the birth of the first child there is nothing to indicate that he will be shown any favoritism. On the contrary, he will probably learn adult activities at an earlier age than his younger siblings and will be expected to assume a certain amount of responsibility in caring for younger children in the family.

At delivery, a soft pad is arranged to receive the child.[3] The umbilical cord is tied with the mother's hair and cut with an obsidian knife. The cord is buried when it drops off, or sometimes kept and wrapped in a piece of buckskin to be worn around the child's neck for luck. The navel is anointed with squirrel grease to hasten healing. As a general rule the afterbirth is disposed of at once by burial. Occasionally a woman throws the afterbirth away carelessly because she wishes to prevent future pregnancies.

846 The newborn baby is sponged off immediately with water, and the face and body are massaged and molded for the first time to conform to Klamath standards of beauty. He is kept beside the mother in the birth lodge during the four or five days of her seclusion. Once each day during this period the child is held over the heated rocks on which the mother lies, to insure his future health.

The infant is put to the breast a few hours after birth. The mother's nipples are squeezed and a hair worked around in them to start the 853 flow of milk. Thereafter the child is nursed whenever he cries. If the mother is unable to nurse her child, a wet nurse is called--generally a relative, but apparently any neighbor woman will do.

852 In many families presents are brought to the newborn child. A boy receives a tiny bow and arrow or small quiver, a girl a small digging stick or basket. These gifts are later hung from the hood of the child's cradleboard. As the presents are brought, a prayer or blessing is said "to encourage the child." Over a

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[2] Spier (1930), p. 55. None of our informants mentioned this.

[14] [3] The practices surrounding pregnancy, birth, and the care of the mother are described in detail by Spier, pp. 55 ff., and Voegelin (1942), elements 3007-3262.

854 he falls, no attempt is made to pick him up un-
856 less he cries for some time.

The first experimentation in crawling and walking is largely left to the child. But when he tries to stand, he is helped. One person steadies the toddler, while another stands a few feet away with outstretched hand, coaxing him to "Come to me." The child soon learns such commands as "Walk," "Go to auntie," and so forth. The parents are proud of the child's accomplishment and show off his ability to visitors.

862 A child continues to nurse until he is two or three years old. Some mothers allow him to nurse as long as he pleases, but ordinarily there is a conscious effort at weaning.[7] The mother rubs her breasts with pitch or charcoal, both to impart a bitter taste and to give a frightening appearance. Some mothers wean their children by staying out of sight for several days while an aunt or other relative takes care of the child. If the mother becomes pregnant [842] again, weaning is hastened. However, it is considered a disgrace to be pregnant while a child is still nursing. No one respects a couple who have children less than two or three years apart. The couple is expected to refrain from intercourse during the nursing period.

863 There is no set age at which toilet training begins. Some families hasten the process; others are extremely lax. Two years seems to be about the average age at which training is begun. The mother takes the child out to the bushes and shows him where to urinate and defecate. He is told to have some adult accompany him to the bushes when he wishes to relieve himself. Thereafter the child is scolded or whipped when he makes a mistake.

856 A child begins to say a few words when about a year old. He has probably acquired a few meaningless syllables even before that, such as the "aam" mentioned above. Children repeat these syllables as they rock back and forth. "It keeps them busy and out of trouble."

The first true word that the individual learns is "mother." At about the same time the child acquires an understanding of simple commands like "dirty" (spoken when he puts unclean objects in his mouth) and "don't" (repeated whenever he gets near the fireplace or other dangerous places).

867 The second word the child learns to articulate is "father." The terms for brother and sister are acquired somewhat later even though older siblings are often assigned to the task of tending the baby. The terms for the paternal grandparents are among the first to be learned, and thereafter the child is told the terms for other relatives with whom he lives. Because of patrilocal residence children normally learn the words for their paternal relatives first. But the teaching of kinship terms is not restricted to those for relatives in the same house group. There is an effort to teach the child the proper

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[7] Ibid., elements 3294-3303.

Aunt May: Female, Age 58

Background Data

*159 [156] [184] [811] [586] [842] [597] Like Carrie, Aunt May's social position is marginal to Klamath and White segments of the community, and she occupies a position of leadership, although hers is of a more informal variety. She has 8 years of formal education, but in her words, has been learning all her life. She has been married four times. Two marriages were broken by the death of a spouse, one by divorce, and the fourth, to a White wage worker, to whom she has been married 20 years. One of the tragedies of her life is that she has never been able to conceive, but she has made up for this biological failing by formal and informal adoptions of numerous children, four of whom she had for at least for three years, and one, an adolescent boy, since birth.

[156] [894] [759] [857] *159 156 177 184 [741] [608] *159 156 [273] [363] Unlike many of the other subjects, Aunt May is a town girl, although she has spent some time on a ranch in her youth and would now prefer to live in the country. When she was young she seriously considered becoming a Shaman, and was closely identified with one of the surviving "Indian Doctors," but she became dissatisfied with the prospects of this role. Yet she remained ambitious and wanted something more for her life than the "other Indians" were getting. She took up with a white woman who put her to work and trained her as a seamstress. She became an accomplished mid-wife and frequently will answer to the query if she knows a certain party, "Do I know him? Why, I cut his umbilical cord with a pair of my nail scissors." When a small girl she held the role of a "child nurse" and more or less raised the remainder of her siblings. In recent years she was literally dragged from her home by a group of white ladies who wanted her to attend their church, a church, which as a girl, on Sunday mornings she had stood outside, wishing she could enter. She is the social center of gravity for two large but separate circles of Klamath and Whites. She is one of the few Klamath women with whom elite White ladies will associate, and with them her position is so esteemed and secure that an invitation to her house is highly valued. For her Klamath friends, relatives, and "pick-up" relatives (i.e., persons she has taken to her bosom as her own flesh) she is a confidant, an advisor, and an out-spoken critic. She is out-spokenly critical of many patterns of contemporary Klamath life, particularly excessive drinking and disordered family life. "When I was a young woman I just stopped drinking. It was making a mess of my life. I didn't want to be a wet blanket, though. I still went to dances and all. What happened was that I told the boys that I had broken my glass." Aunt May's home today is one built with her share of tribal income, spotlessly clean, well furnished and homey. Every room of the house has its walls and corners covered with mementos and souvenirs, each of which is associated with a treasured memory of a particular person and association. It is noteworthy that these memories are her personal property and do not include her husband or adopted son. Most of her current social contacts are with Whites, for although other Klamath visit in her home, she never visits in theirs, because she does not want to get involved in their arguments.

[157] [571] Aunt May is an extremely assertive woman whose tongue is too often sharp and biting, but every criticism is immediately followed by an effort to soften a person up, reflecting her extreme sensitivity to personal relationships. Perhaps, like Carrie, this strong joking behavior constitutes an appropriate social role. Aunt May is equally sensitive to the reactions of others to her and she will call friends to task for imagined snubs. In public she sits erect and quiet, yet attentive to all that is going on about her, and with great care